595 The Batwa usually have four or five wives.

One of the wives has a special name, inkundwakazi (the loved one, the favorite). She is thus called because of her qualities: her cleanliness, her ability to make pombe, her faithfulness, her careful supervision of the crops, the good treatment she extends to the abagaragu, the constant care she takes of the cattle, the friendly reception she reserves for her husband's friends, the care with which she has the master's orders carried out in his absence (1).

1. The inyungwakazi is quite the opposite of the inkwundakazi. She is a wife without any domestic qualities, who is disobedient, even adulterous. If her husband does not repudiate her, he keeps her at a distance and has no relations with her.

[836]

As to the other wives, the husband, in speaking of them, simply says abagore banjye (my wives). However, the favorite may not give them orders. Only the husband can give orders to his wives.

Children of different mothers (or of different fathers) are on the same footing and considered as real brothers and sisters. [21]

[848] Adulterine children belong to the husband of the unfaithful wife.

858 595 Whether legitimate or not, the children are not treated differently according to their mother's condition. But if the children of a concubine show themselves to be unbearable, people will not fail to contemptuously call them abana bo mu milombero (children of the hedges).

3. Obstacles to Marriage

582 1. Exogamy.

The Batutsi (except the Abanyiginya) and the Bahutu may not take a wife from within their father's family and clan, whatever the kinship. Parallel cousins (1) therefore cannot marry each other, but

1. Parallel cousins are those whose fathers are brothers or whose mothers are sisters.

582 marriage is allowed between crosscousins (2), for the sister's children

> 2. Crosscousins are those of whom the father of one is the brother of the other's mother.

belong to their father's family. An uncle may never marry his niece.

Endogamy (kwisabira ku mugongo, lit. to find one's self on one's back) and exogamy both exist at the same time among the Abanyiginya. However, they may not marry the daughter of their brother or their sister. Similarly, they may not take a wife among the Abungura, the Abasinga, and the Abatshyaba.

587 When a man dies, his father or his brother may marry one of his widows. Similarly, the son who succeeds him as head of the family may marry his father's wives, other than his own mother, on condition that they do not belong to his mother's family.

The husband of the deceased's sister may marry his sister-in-law (muramukazi), but not the latter's daughter (umukobwa wachu). Similarly, the brother of the deceased's wife may marry his sister-in-law, but not her daughter (umwishywa w'umukobwa). [22]

Marriage is permitted with the widow of a blood brother but not with his daughter.

582 563 The Batutsi may marry Bahutu women. For example, a patron might give his daughter in marriage to one of his clients of whom he is particularly fond. But an umugaragu is forbidden to ask his shebuja for permission to marry his daughter.

2. Impuberty.

582 In the past a young man and a girl could not get married before the age of twenty-five and eighteen respectively. A little girl (inshube) and a little boy (ingimbi) were sometimes betrothed, but they remained with their parents until the time of their marriage.

Nowadays a young man usually gets married when he is eighteen and a girl when she is fourteen.

584 3. Lack of consent.

The father chooses the wife for his son. If he is dead, one of his brothers takes his place in this undertaking. The son who is head of the family finds wives for his brothers and receives marriage proposals

563 the mass of the Bahutu who are Bantus. These devote themselves to agriculture and raise cattle for the benefit of the Batutsi. The
● [582] pygmoid Batwa are kept at a distance by the Batutsi and the Bahutu and marriage with them is forbidden. They are hunters, blacksmiths, and potters.

173 The legendary tradition of the country explains the origin of these different peoples. Nkuba (lightning), first king of the country, and his wife, Nyagasani, lived in the heavens with their two sons, Kimanuka and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day, having come down from their heavenly abode the three children settled on Mubari Hill in the Urgweya savanna, near Kissaka, and Kimanuka took the name of Kigwa (lit., fallen from the sky). They lived there on the produce of their hunting and are versed in the art of forging spears, pruning knives, and hoes. Kigwa married his sister Nyampundu, and Mututsi went off elsewhere. But when he learned that his brother and sister had had some children, he came back to them and married one of his nieces. The descendants of Kigwa took the name of Abanyiginya; those of Mututsi were called Abega. They sold weapons and farming tools and thus became very rich.

They continued to live on Mubari Hill until the time when Gihanga (the creator), twelfth king [84] of the dynasty, began to overrun the whole country in order to dispose of the products of his family's forges. This Mwami "traveling salesman" was the first to exercise supreme authority effectively and was much loved by all his people, who considered him as a half-god after his death.

Gatutsi received many cows from his father Gihanga. His brother Gahutu, however, did not get any from the father because there was not enough cattle for him. Thus he was obliged to become Gatutsi's servant. Gatwa, third son of Gihanga, killed Gatutsi. The weight of this crime has fallen on the Batwa descendants of Gatwa. Gihanga had still other sons: Nyakarundi, ancestor of the Barundi; Kanyabongo, father of the Banyabongo [Baniabungu ?] people, who are now strangers to the Banyarwanda; finally Gahima, the first of the Bahima, inhabitants of Ndorwa, whom the Batutsi consider as their own people.

563 Whereas the Batutsi of Ruanda today consider their brothers from Rutshuru (Kivu) as Bahutu, they look upon the Batutsi of Urundi as their equals. On the other hand, the Bahutu of Urundi, by means

Batussi Bahutu

142 the other type has a [9] straight or pug nose, a broader nose tip, and a larger, thicker mouth u(Plate 17b). Both types are conspicuously the oval form of the face, the small but pronounced chin, and the complete absence of Negroid prognathism. Yet, 142 frequently, the noble impression of the face is reduced by the 143 fact that the upper front teeth jut out (buck teeth). For this 582 reason the mouth of these individuals mostly remains half open, and one can see the upper four incisors. These crooked teeth, it seems to me, are especially of frequent occurrence among the members of the most distinguished families, both here and in Ruanda; these people are also tallest. Perhaps these two features are special characteristics and result from the long inbreeding of these families, for they marry only among themselves and are severely restricted in their choice (p. 1004-106), while the common Batussi are allowed a wider choice in selecting a mate, and the lowest, poorest class enters into marriages, although not entirely legitimate ones, with the Bahutu as well.

142 If the hair of the head is left unshaven, it is seen to be curly and woolly like that of the Batussi in Ruanda. One also sees at the temples and above the forehead that it does not grow even but in tufts; this is the most Negroid physical feature of the Batussi who, apart from this, do not look like Negroes at all.

142 The second large population group among the Barundi, 144 the Bahutu, who are ruled by the Batussi nobility, have the well-known Bantu physical type, just like all the inhabitants of the interlacustrine area, that is, Ruanda, Mpororo, Ankole, Karagwe, Kitiba, etc. (Plate 6, 8, 9, 10). The differences between them and the Batussi are immediately visible in their short figures, [141] varying between 1.62 and 1.70 meters, and especially in their shorter legs, their thick-set muscular physique which admittedly often looks frail from undernourishment, and in their genuinely prognathous Negroid skull. Somatically they differ very little from the central Bantu of Unjamwesi and Usukuma, although in some respects they resemble the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region who formerly probably extended farther toward the east (see p. 152 [not translated]). Their eastern branches

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554 The second important legal sphere is constituted by social conditions, but first, something about the social stratification. I shall reserve a separate chapter for the relationships within the clan and family (p. 98 , 106). As has already been mentioned, social stratification is determined by the three racial elements of which the Barundi people is composed: Hamitic Batussi, Bantu Bahutu, and the original indigenous population, the Batwa. By the law of conquest, the Batussi form the nobility; the Bahutu are those who are not free, or rather those whose rights are only conditional; and the Batwa are the helots who have no rights. If we disregard the Batwa pariahs, there is no separation of castes closed off from one another, although the priests (kiranga), the sorcerers and medicine men (abafumu), and partly also the religious brotherhoods (ababandwa) enjoy a privileged position on the basis of their magical powers which other persons lack. The professional craftsmen, especially the blacksmiths, also maintain a particularly respected position if they are Batussi or Bahutu, but this does not apply to Batwa. And, as is true everywhere, the [554] rich in Urundi enjoy more respect and influence than the poor.

In spite of the considerable difference in social and legal status and in spite of the arrogance of the Batussi, the latter associate with the Bahutu on a friendly basis in most cases, a relationship similar to that between a master and his useful, docile servant. Even if a Mutussi is a mutwale of the lowest rank or a petty feudal lord, the Muhutu will never forget that in his relations with the former he is dealing with a master. If he should ever forget this, he most certainly would be reminded of his inferior status in a manner which would not be pleasant for him, but the "better situated" Muhutu regards the ordinary non-propertied Mutussi as his equal. At times, although [552] only rarely, there are even marriages between Batussi and Bahutu, yet these are not considered as completely valid (see p. 101 , 109). It is also reported that, as in Ruanda, a Muhutu [551] may be promoted to the privileged class of the Batussi by an act of royal favor.

642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
628 opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
182 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price; the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are [589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor. If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable to raise the bride price, i.e., the purchase price of a wife. Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within 583 the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a 685 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358). 595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

585 As soon as they have been delivered, the bride follows the matchmaker to the newly-built hut of the bridegroom. There the wedding is duly celebrated; the family members give presents to each other, eat and drink, and dance. Through her marriage the wife becomes part of the husband's family (patriarchate). On her wedding day the bride is expected to feign great sorrow; she covers her head with a veil, and the bridegroom must try to assuage her grief by giving her presents. For seven days the young couple remain unseen in their hut, but even on the following days the wife covers her head with a veil whenever she goes out of the house (No. 4, p. 222; No. 19, p. 359).

Great value is placed on the bride's virginity. If the sleeping mat of the young wife shows traces of blood after the wedding night, the young husband gratefully sends this proof to his wife's parents and adds a hoe as a present.

582 There are quite a number of obstacles to marriage. Above all lineal and collateral blood relatives, members of the same clan or of the same totem group, are not allowed to marry each other; exogamy is the supreme rule (see p. 160).

582 563 Even among the Batwa of Urundi marriage between close relatives is not permitted. Marriage between a Muhutu and a Mutussi woman is not permitted, or it is possible only by royal permission in exceptional cases. The racial pride of the Batussi repudiate such a union. Even where toleration is the 836 rule, sexual intercourse between unmarried members of the same race is probably rare since Barundi mothers keep a watchful eye on their adolescent daughters. It may safely be said that the Barundi do not permit pre-marital freedom on principle.

837 684 The husband expects marital fidelity, unless he purposely surrenders his wife to a clan member. In contrast, the husband is not so strict about his own fidelity. It is true that adultery committed in secret is not punished by law as a case of theft, although in fact it is regarded as such by the Barundi. However, the deceived husband is entitled to kill the guilty parties in flagrante delicto (No. 19, p. 14). In most cases he contents

428 The widow whose son was chosen as chief legatee usually en-
[768] joys the use of the family property until her death. The sharing is definitively carried out only after she has left this world. A childless widow is usually sent away by her husband's relatives, who share among themselves the property of the deceased. On being dismissed, she is left merely with a mat and a few household utensils. If she is fairly young, one of her brothers-in-law takes her as a concubine or
429 gets her another husband. /51/ When a child loses both parents, he is given a guardian. The legal guardian is the paternal grandfather, or lacking him, an uncle, a paternal first cousin, or lastly the chief of the village himself.

Maternal uncles and aunts, especially if they belong to another clan, cannot as a general rule manage the orphan's property. This would give rise to disputes and legal porceedings among the members of both tribes. They may bring up the child at best.

The guardianship devolves by right to relatives on the paternal side. They administer the ward's property until he comes of age,
● [582] that is to say, until the day when he takes a wife. This usually happens at the age of eighteen or nineteen.

If only daughters are left, the nearest paternal relatives
[428] inherit the family property, but they must take care of the orphans until they marry.

If a person dies childless and leaves no relatives, his property devolves by right to the hill chief. This property is called inkungu.

[165] The families are large, but child mortality is high.

851 Eight days after his birth the newborn child receives from his
551 father a name that befits the circumstances (1). The mother /52/ is

1. "We notice that all men," says Mgr. LeRoy, "give themselves names that characterize them, and frequently the best one they could find was that of an animal whose strength, skill, agility, or beauty they had noticed, of a plant that was useful to them. . . . of an object or phenomenon which had struck them." (Les primitifs /Primitive Peoples/, p. 126.)

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
186 expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
563 them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu, who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

It is said that atonement for killing an umuziru is made by special ceremonies, and the willful slaying of an umuziru by an outsider can even call forth revenge on the part of the clan.

Marriage Prohibitions. Clan organization also affects the individual in the matter of marriage prohibitions. Members of the same clan may not marry each other. The clan is strictly exogamous. It seems, however, that among the Batutsi there are still traces of an earlier endogamy. For example, in their legend about Kigwa, the first ruler of Ruanda, they say that all Batutsi are descendants of a sister and brother, Nyina Batutsi and Kigwa.

[242] Exogamy in Ruanda is an important factor in social integration. In Mulera, where the old clan organization has been best preserved, the act of contracting marriage consists of the exchange of a woman for a cow. Thus, two different clans come to have a common interest. One clan is helped by a direct increase of its man power. The other, in turn, strives to increase its wealth and possessions. This union, furthermore, necessitates mutual consideration in other matters and thus promotes the social life of larger groups of people.

In contrast to the exogamy of individual clans, there is an absence of valid mixed marriages between Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa. The social and anthropological contrast between these elements of the population is much sharper and more striking than the contrast between Bahima and Bahiru in the Runyoro language area, and since there one can distinguish between Bahima and Bahiru clans, it is all the more surprising that there are Bahutu in most of the clans of Ruanda. Upon investigation we found that in many cases Batutsi and Bahutu had the same clan names, and in less than half the cases observed could we find special Batutsi clans which did not have Bahutu members.

The appearance of Batutsi clan names among the Bahutu can probably be traced to the following two reasons. First, the descendants of slaves, of baja, belong to their father's clan, but, in spite of Batutsi fathers, they are no longer counted among the Batutsi. Thus, there are Bahutu families that trace their origin to Ruanda rulers. Secondly, impoverished Batutsi marry Bahutu women, which rapidly adds to the number of impoverished Bahutu,

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even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is de jure a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion
[197] persists even in Christian communities, and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

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[243] Blood Brotherhood. In speaking of exogamy, we mentioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (kunywana).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is kwuzulu which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

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There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is connected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north. This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

572 608 614 178 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship between blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 608 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 608 582 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously observed. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 608 837 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 608 563 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the Batwa.

614 621 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

614 3. Abakono.
4. Abagisere, totem, *enyamanzi*, wagtail.
Sub-divisions:
(*a*) Abasinga, totems, *enyamanzi*, and *lubombo*, a cow.
(*b*) Abazigaba, " "
(*c*) Abatyaba, " "
5. Abazigaba.
6. Abasinga.
7. Abawungara.

[582] The members of this clan intermarry and also marry people from outside tribes and from the clans Abakongole, Abaswere and Abasinga, but not from other clans, for these four clans were despised people and men of other clans would not marry girls from them.

8. Abatyaba, totem, *enyamanzi*. Abanyiginya and Abega clans refuse to marry girls from this clan.
9. Abasindi, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.
10. Abakongole.
11. Abasambo, totems, *epu* and a house burned down and lightning. These came from Ankole.
12. Abaswere.

GOVERNMENT

643 The head of the country was the king, whose title was
692 *Omwami* or *Mugabe*, and all important cases had to be brought to his court (*Kambera*) for trial. The king, however, did not
634 appoint the great chiefs or *Abatwala*, for their offices were
[428] hereditary and they had been appointed by former kings, who divided the land into some forty districts and put a district chief over each. When, however, a district chief died leaving a son who was too young to manage the estate, the king appointed a guardian, often a brother of the dead chief, who administered the estate until the real chief was old enough. The new chief might then give his guardian a chieftainship under him and retain him as an advisor. If the guardian did not receive or accept such an office, he went to the king, who found him some post.

634 Each district chief was the magistrate in his own district;
693 but appeal might be made from his jurisdiction to the court
[203] of the king, to which the chiefs were summoned by crier, for

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

567 kind of service. They could not be sold and might leave service and marry when they wished.

(3) Slaves who had been purchased or captured during wars or raids. These were also women and were seldom sold; when once a slave entered a family she remained there for life. Such slaves were often taken by their owners to wife, and their sons were regarded as legitimate and might inherit property.

CHAPTER XXXI

MARRIAGE, ILLNESS, AND DEATH

Forbidden relationships—initiation—arranging marriages—marriage ceremonies—taking home a bride—polygamy—entertainment of visitors—treatment of illness—death—burial—mourning—the heir—the widows

582 MARRIAGE between the descendants of a brother and sister was forbidden until they reached the fourth generation, that is, the great-grandchildren of a brother and sister might marry.

[881] There were no initiation ceremonies, but before the sons of princes or chiefs were considered to be of marriageable age, they had to prove that they were capable of settling some quarrel or lawsuit between men. The chief instruction given [869] to a youth was how to manage cattle, but he was also taught to cultivate the land.

584 Infant betrothals were common, and the parents of a boy might agree with those of a baby girl for their children to marry when of a suitable age. The boy's parents gave the others a cow as a pledge of the betrothal, and as long as they kept the cow the engagement was binding. If, however, the parents of the girl discovered any cause for breaking the pledge, they returned the cow with a message that the engagement was at an end. When a boy thus engaged came to a reasonable age, he was told of the arrangement and took presents of beer to his prospective father-in-law. When a boy

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

the absence of a taboo on sex-relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law may have induced some severe fathers to punish their sons in this way). As long as their fathers lived, sons were never emancipated.[12]

The father had a slightly different attitude towards his daughter, though she certainly had to obey and respect him. Like the boys the girls went to sleep later than their parents and got up earlier. They participated in a large measure in the domestic chores, among the Hutu. They were more closely associated with their mother, the father did not have the task of punishing them, and they were never beaten by him after puberty. They were said usually to have great influence on their father and could get what they wanted from him. When they married the father received the bride-wealth, but he had to supply some of the counter-gifts. Marriage did not cut the links between the girl and her inzu which remained her inzu. But her close connexion with her husband's inzu sometimes divided her loyalties, though I was told that this was rare and anyway not a part of her expected behaviour. *Amahitamo yaje, umwana ni uwa se* (when a choice has to be made, one is the child of one's father).

Ego regarded his paternal uncle very much as another father. He referred to him as 'our father'. Like the father, the father's brother had the right to punish. This is why a man who had committed some offence did not dare to take refuge with his paternal uncle. Their relations were, however, more cordial and less tense: the paternal uncle was the usual intermediary between Ego and Fa when the former wanted to obtain something from the latter. Ego, for instance, told his FaBr first when he wished to marry. There was no significant difference of behaviour towards the father's brothers, unless the relative ages of Ego and his FaBr were exceptional. If the nephew and his uncle were about the same age, there was a more familiar relationship between them. If FaBr was about as old as Fa, the attitude was more polite and respectful.

The paternal aunt (FaSi) had perhaps a still more prominent position. As she had received no part of her father's heritage, she felt free to ask from her father or from her brothers whatever she wanted for her nephews (Ego's children). Moreover, as her nephews could marry her daughers without any very urgent

[12] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 106-14.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally, she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhunguwacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwawacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezawanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *uwamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is said of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

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to the oldest brother's as regards her younger sisters. But the importance of seniority was less stressed among sisters than among brothers. There was often rivalry between married sisters as there was no taboo on intercourse between a woman and her sister's husband.

Sisters and brothers were playmates during their childhood. After puberty their relations were restricted, but certainly not to the point of avoidance. As girls did not inherit from the father, as they were the prospective paternal aunts of the future children of their brothers, the relations between siblings of opposite sexes did not manifest the same covert strain as that between brothers.

Parallel paternal male cousins of Ego were assimilated to his brothers, but as there was no inheritance rivalry, and as Ego was not required to manifest a particular respect for his eldest cousin, Ego's actual relation with his parallel cousins was in fact more fraternal than with his brothers. Ego considered the daughters of his paternal uncle as sisters with whom there was a marriage prohibition. There was consequently a certain reserve between them which, however, did not prevent them from exchanging obscene jokes at a celebration or a gathering, but any sexual acts were severely tabooed.

(*d*) *Organization and activities of the umulyango and the ubwoko*

The two other descent groups may be described much more briefly. The secondary patrilineage when it had just divided from the primary group continued to share in the previous functions of the formerly united inzu. There were still gatherings of the descendants of the umulyango's ancestor, mutual aid, judgements in disputes, and participation in the blood-feuds. But gradually these activities were confined more and more within the new inzu and after an intermediate period, the umulyango generally disappeared as a corporate group.[13] Obviously if the splitting was due to a change of residence or a dispute, the functions of the former inzu were very quickly assumed by the new one and relations with other branches of the former inzu (which then constituted an umulyango) were not very close.

Did the umulyango as such have any special characteristics or activities? All our informants agree on the rule of exogamy.

[13] For a definition of a corporate group see Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p. 41.

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
IV. Ego's generation		
MoBrSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye (one with with whom to beget-mine)
MoBrDa	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoFaBrSoSo	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu (one with whom to beget-our)
MoFaBrSoDa	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Mubyarawacu[15]

Ego's mother, who was the link between Ego and her descent group, was not a figure of authority to the same extent as Ego's father. Her children had to behave respectfully and obediently towards her, but as she was a wife of their father, they saw that she, like they themselves, had to submit to an authority in the home. Moreover, Ruanda placed a very high value on their children and they were more important for the father than his wife. Consequently the children knew that from their father's point of view their mother did not enjoy a status superior to their own. Consequently the mother-son and mother-daughter relations were usually free and affectionate. Very often the mother, when widowed and old, came and lived with one of her children, whereas the old widower frequently lived alone.

The relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle was one of extreme restraint. It was not avoidance: they spoke to each other and Ego came and called on him from time to time. These attitudes were not completely symmetrical: the uncle seemed to consider his nephews only as nuisances. For him they brought ill-luck and they were treated accordingly: they were not allowed to look into his granaries or to milk his cows, and they ate with the servants, The uncle seemed to do all he could to induce them to keep away. But they visited him because there they met his children with whom they were traditionally permitted to have very familiar relationships. The maternal uncle was afraid that Ego would have intercourse with his daughter and that her betrothal to somebody else would thereby be broken. He was also afraid that if Ego married her he would not easily obtain bride-wealth from his brother-in-law. All these reasons were understandable enough.

[15] We do not mention here the maternal half-siblings because they do not belong to their mother's descent group. They are referred to as *Mweneumama* (child of mother).

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This privileged sexual partnership is not to be understood as an unrestricted freedom irrespective of circumstances. From the point of view of a married woman sex relations with these relatives were privileged in the sense that her husband could not divorce her or dismiss her on these grounds as he could do if the lover was not a relative of that category. For the lover himself, it did not make much difference as the woman was always regarded as being responsible for adultery ('she should have refused'); the husband usually had no claim against him although the lover might have to endure some punishment such as being beaten if caught in the act. We may say, however, that intercourse with a woman relative was privileged for a man in the sense that his wife was supposed not to resent it. In any case these relations were kept secret as far as possible, and it was regarded as seriously lacking in respect to indulge in them when the spouse was not away. When the spouse was absent, travelling for a long time, they were considered normal.

This tolerance concerned only married women. Before marriage girls were supposed to remain virgin. When an unmarried girl became pregnant, she was either killed with the infant or sent away, usually to an island on Lake Kivu where she was left to die, unless rescued and taken by a man of a very much despised tribe, the Shi, living on the western shore of the lake (the present Belgian Congo side). Of course, such a drastic course of action was not always followed, but this was the traditional rule. When the unmarried girl was impregnated by a cousin, these dreadful consequences could be more easily avoided if the parents wanted to exert pressure on the lover to make him marry the girl. But this is the only sense in which it may be said that sexual intercourse for an unmarried girl with a relative was privileged.

On the contrary, maternal parallel cousins of Ego had to be treated with restraint. Although not members of his patrilineage, as were his paternal parallel cousins, his attitude towards them and particularly towards the girls was supposed to be very similar. The incest taboo existed between Ego's descendents and his parallel cousins' descendents until such time as the fact that the two mothers were sisters had been forgotten.

Towards his sororal nieces and nephews, Ego's role was similar to his avuncular role *vis-à-vis* his brother's children. He could not marry or have intercourse with his sororal nieces. His behaviour

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CHAPTER III

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

1. MARRIAGE

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THE family, the social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation, and reproduction[1] had in Ruanda a conjugal basis[2] that we shall consider in this section.

Married life will not be dealt with here but only the ways and conditions of the establishment of that 'union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are then recogized legitimate offspring of both partners'.[3]

(a) *The choice of a spouse*

582 In a primary marriage (the first that an individual contracts) there were few positive socially recognized criteria of choice and none of them indicated one or a few individuals as preferential partners. Among close kin cross-cousins were possible spouses, but it was generally an unfortunate circumstance that obliged a man to marry his cross-cousin. It was usually either because he was not able to pay bride-wealth immediately, or because his cross-cousin had become pregnant by him. We should add that there was no restricted or generalized exchange among the [114] Ruanda in Lévi-Strauss's sense. On the contrary I was told that because they limited connexions, exchanges were not in favour except in some special circumstances.[4]

In the preceding chapter we have mentioned persons whom Ego was prohibited from marrying because of his relations of kinship or affinity with them. Let me sum up the different categories of these persons.

We may start with that which seems fundamental in the sense

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 1.
[2] Linton, 1936, p. 159.
[3] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 110.
[4] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, pp. 189, 322. There is restricted exchange if, when a man of group A gets a woman from group B, it results in a man of group B claiming a woman from group A. Exchange is generalised if when a woman of group A is given to a man of group B, a woman of B must be given to a man of C and a woman of C may be claimed by a man of A.

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that in questions of exogamy, informants mention it first and attempt to relate other categories to it: I refer to the primary patrilineage (inzu). People descending in the paternal line from a common ancestor did not intermarry because they were of the same blood. The same principle was logically extended to the secondary patrilineage (umulyango).

A second extension of the taboo concerned the maternal kinship group and had a double basis. First the idea that it would be unnatural and horrible to conceive a marriage between Ego and his mother and consequently between him and any person assimilated to her (her sisters and female parallel cousins). Second, because of the tendency to recognize the cognatic principle, some matrilateral relatives were tabooed because their paternal counterparts were tabooed. This applied to the maternal parallel cousins.

Only when Ego was a male was there a third extension to his in-laws. The explanation given is that it seemed distasteful that a man could have intercourse with a girl and her mother. Consequently the wife's mother and all the relatives assimilated to the mother were in the prohibited class.

The same taboo included also sororal nieces and grand-nieces of Ego because he had to assume an avuncular attitude towards them, although they belonged to another patrilineage.

A further extension included the spouses of uncles and aunts. The spouse of an aunt was regarded rather as an uncle, and the spouse of an uncle was regarded rather as an aunt.

Ruanda were so eager to form new connexions with unrelated kinship groups that they were very keenly aware of any factor favouring them. Some informants stressed the function of exogamy rules from that point of view. Increase of social communication by marriage does not explain all the particular prohibitions, however, since some of them were concerned with people of a different patrilineage. Taboos on marriage and sex relations (they were co-extensive) had, it appears, in some cases the function of keeping a certain cohesion within the large group of relatives by kinship and affinity by preventing rivalry. Prohibition of relations between Ego and his WiBrWi could not favour social communication, but it certainly made possible harmonious relations between Ego and his WiBr.

Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and

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Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and
564 582 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi informants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that
[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.
[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to
[560] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could
[583] marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to
[557] informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting intermarriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 567 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the
582 648 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole, Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda girl marry an alien.

581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and particularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu. They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to administrative charges in one part of the country, then in another one. Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

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important for prospective spouses? Among Hutu and Tutsi both patrilineages looked for the right connexion. Has the man's (or girl's) inzu a good reputation? Is it well considered at the king's court? Are they rich? Is it strategic, in present circumstances, to be allied to them? What are the relations between their cattle-lord and ours? Individual qualities considered as socially important were for the prospective wife of a Tutsi that she should be expert at keeping a house very clean, at basket work, and at commanding servants. The Hutu wanted a hard-working wife able to help them in the fields. The Twa appreciated, as we may expect, a skilled potter. The most important qualities of the culturally defined ideal husband was his ability to support economically his wife and their children. That meant for a Tutsi that he should be rich in cattle and clever in political intrigues; for a Hutu that he should be a good labourer and a client appreciated by his lord, and for a Twa that he should be a good craftsman or hunter or a buffoon, liked by his Tutsi protectors. These qualities mentioned by our informants are those which made spouses good partners in the co-operative economic unit of the family. In the mind of Ruanda that aspect of the family was clearly emphasized. Beauty and sex-appeal were also highly appreciated, however, particularly by Tutsi.

The normal marriage age for boys was around twenty-five for Tutsi, seventeen to eighteen for Hutu, and fifteen for Twa. For girls, when 'breasts were fully developed and beginning to fall down' I was told. This gives a rather large range of age. A girl could be married before puberty but she remained with her parents till her first menstruation.

According to informants, virginity was appreciated more than both beauty and ability to co-operate in economic pursuits. This was rationalized in terms of virginity being a guarantee of fertility and of stability in the family. Among the Hutu a small gift was sent to the girl's parents by the husband when the girl was found to be virgin.

The prospective spouse was not chosen by his or her future partner. The boy could express only to his paternal uncle or aunt nothing more than a wish to get married. The father was told of his son's desire and then looked for a suitable girl. When she was found, the inzu council met and the advisability of a connexion with the girl's inzu was discussed. When an agreement was reached on the choice, the boy's father asked for an appointment with the

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586 sufficient grounds, as in that case the wife had the right of cohabitation with one of her husband's agnates. Socially accepted grounds of divorce for a husband were his wife's neglect of domestic duties, or repeated adultery with a non-privileged partner. Sterility was not a reason for divorce as the man could always take another wife.

The divorced woman left with her only belongings—her clothes. Usually the husband gave her new clothes on that occasion. If bride-wealth and counter-gifts had been exchanged, nothing had to be given by either father. If bride-wealth had been paid, but not the counter-gifts, bride-wealth had to be returned except either where children had been born or where there were other marriage links between the two lineages concerned. If bride-wealth had not been paid, children went to live with their mother's kinsfolk unless their father paid the bride-wealth later. If bride-wealth was not returned and there were no children, the children borne by the wife in a following marriage could be claimed by the former husband.

Young children stayed with their divorced mother till they were seven or eight years old. They were then sent to their father's home where they were taken care of by another of his wives. Later on these children could visit their mother whenever they wished.

587 Divorced women usually married again easily. Their bride-wealth was lower and its payment was delayed till after marriage. But if it was felt that they were responsible for the failure of their previous marriage, then they did not always find another husband.

(f) Celibacy

589 Voluntary celibacy was unknown in Ruanda. Every man wanted to be married, to have children and a place of his own. Every girl wanted to be a mother. Those who were impotent (*ibiremba*) usually did not marry. Lepers (*ababembe*), the insane (*abasazi*), and people ill with tuberculosis (*abanyagitundu*) were forbidden to marry. Girls who had refused a husband often remained unmarried, as few men wanted to take the chance of being refused also. Single people lived with their kinsmen. Sometimes Tutsi bachelors were given a homestead and servants by their fathers.

[582] [734]

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The same may be said of the criterion of endogamy. We saw
564 previously that marriages between Hutu and Tutsi were not
[580] banned but that they were neither favoured nor frequent. Marriages between Twa and the two other groups were prohibited.

Since cattle rearing, agriculture, and hunting, with pot making, were the main activities characteristic of our three strata, the criterion of hereditary occupation was certainly realized in Ruanda.

The fourth criterion, the hierarchy of the groups within the society, was certainly to be seen in Ruanda. We must, however, consider more closely what kind of ranking existed between the castes.

121 Social power has been previously defined as an interpersonal relation in which each of the human actors, because he belongs to a different group or stratum of the same society, is able to exert pressure on the other. One occupies a position of power over somebody, not because of personal qualities or the specific social role one fulfils or one's wealth, but only because one is a member of a certain group. The two human terms of the relation do not stand on their own personal merits but as representatives of their groups. Personal characteristics do not matter, only the identification with a group.

This notion of social power which operates in interpersonal relations is based on social power regarded from the collective point of view. Collectively, social power is the intergroup relation in which one of the two groups may inflict on the other a severe loss. It is the pressure exerted by one group as such on another.

564 The three Ruanda castes were in a hierarchic order, then, from the standpoint of social power, both collective and individual. The Tutsi caste could as a group inflict severe deprivations on the Hutu or Twa castes, and any individual Tutsi could exert strong pressure on any Hutu or Twa irrespective of their personal qualities and possessions.

Let us now turn to the function of the feudal system in Ruanda.

(c) Protection by identification

121 To live in a society where several castes very unequal in their social power coexist, frequently puts the individuals of the weaker groups in a very difficult position. Indeed, anybody may be at any time confronted with an exacting demand made on him by somebody possessing higher social power. To be protected against such

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564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[a] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to
613 differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In
644 general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
● 582 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
613 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through
643 such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases).

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child.

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives.

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the

593 784 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields.

582 [357] Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a long time before their master or mistress will allow them to be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 [564] A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter. If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.) If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

[591] 342 591

585 [184] The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-